KANDALUR SALAI—NEW LIGHT ON THE NATURE OF ARYAN EXPANSION IN SOUTH INDIA

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The phrase *Kandalursalai kalamarutharulina* used as title of several Cola kings like Rajaraja, Rajendra, Rajadhiraja and Kulottunga has perplexed many scholars and given rise to a big controversy. Since it is mentioned among the military achievements on the West coast, it is bound to have been connected in some way with warlike activity but its real nature could not be explained. Dr. Hultzsch first took the phrase to mean "was pleased to build a jewel-like hall at Kandalur" and then changed it as "having been pleased to cut the vessel (*kalam*) in the hall at Kandalur".[1] Finally he amended it as "having been pleased to destroy the ships at Kandalur *salai*".[2] Here he gave the word *kalam* the meaning of *marakkalam* or ship thus trying to get out of the absurdity of the earlier explanations. However, the term *salai* which means hall and is generally used for a feeding house was left out of this interpretation.

Gopinatha Rao, the Travancore Government epigraphist, interpreted the passage in question as indicating that the Cola king "discontinued the *kalam* (by implication, the feeding) in *kandalur salai* (or the feeding house at Kandalur)" instituted by the Cera.[3] Still he was aware of possible objections. It would not only be an apparently uncharitable act but a serious sin to stop the feeding of the 'gods of the earth' (*bhusuras*), an act which should shock a pious Hindu like the great conqueror Rajaraja. Rao tried to tide over this difficulty by suggesting that instead of topping the feeding once for all, Rajaraja might have actually transferred the charities conducted by his adversary the Cera into his name. This is not convincing for the word *aruthu* may mean stopped or destroyed but not transferred. Mr. Desikavinayakam Pillai recognised this and he also realised that *aruli* signifies an auspicous event and therefore

amended the meaning by substituting the word "regulated" for "destroyed" or "transferred".[4] Even after this the original mystery continued, for the stoppage or transfer or regulation of brahmin feeding at a place is not a big enough achievement for a great conqueror to make out of it a solitary title of distinction. This failure of the feeding-house explanation has prompted Prof. K.A.N. Sastri to go back to Dr. Hultzsch and provisionally accept the ship-at-harbour interpretation although he was not fully satisfied.[5]

Prof. Elamkulam P.N. Kunhan Pillai has partly accepted the feeding house hypothesis in assuming that *kalam* means a plate and by derivation a seat in the feeding house and consequently free-food facilities. He has improved upon the meaning of the phrase by suggesting that *salai* as described in the Parthivapuram Copper-plate of Ay King Karunandatakkan was a *padhasala* specially meant for Brahmin Vedic scholars i.e. a vedic institute or college.[6] However the same record also proves that the *cattar* or *cathirar* who were members of the *salai* had military training and bore arms. He was right in drawing attention to the importance of this earlier record, which described the foundation of a *salai* for ninety-five *cattar* by the Ay king of South Kerala based on the model of Kandalur *salai*, in understanding the connotation of the term *salai*. He rightly concluded that Cattar, or Cathirar as they were sometimes called, were brahmins privileged to bear arms and that probably during the period of the Cola-Cera conflict of the 10th century Kandalur-salai had thus developed into a great military centre, of the Ceras, which amply justified the Cola kings pride in the destruction of Kandalur-salai.

In this connection it may be observed that the significance of Prof. Elamkulam's discovery is not confined to the explanation of the passage containing the phase Kandalur salai. There are other inscriptions in Kerala of the 10th century-11th century period, referring to the cattar or Cathirar, and the Cathirar are mentioned in early medieval literary works of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries also.[7] This proves that there was strong well-knit organisation of arms-bearing brahmins called cattar who were proficient both in fighting and in vedic and sastraic studies. It is also found that by about the 13th century this community had degenerated and disintegrated to such an extent that many of the cattar were boastful warriors and practitioners of black-magic who became conspicuous by their presence in large numbers at the pleasure houses or palaces of devadasis or tevadichikal turned into courtesans. A fifteenth

century work mentions eighteen *cathirasanghas* or groups of cathirar throughout Kerala.[8] A peculiar form of dramatic performance including vedic rituals and various forms of military entertainment known as cathirakkali had also become prevalent in Kerala.[9]

The legendary brahmin chronicle of Kerala known as *Keralolpathi* which professes to be a history of ancient Kerala also contains significant reference to the sastrakas, the brahmins of certain settlements gramas who received the gift of arms from their patron deity Parasurama. It also refers to the division of the thirty-two brahmin settlements of ancient Kerala into four Kalakams for the purpose of administration and defence. According to the *Keralolpathi* the representatives of these four kalakams constituted a council for the choice of the Perumal or sovereign whom they designated as their overlord for a twelve year period and this arrangement continued for a long time. The chronology offered by the *Keralolpathi* is unreliable, the narration of historical events confused, distorted and exaggerated but several statements contained in this work are surprisingly corroborated by epigraphy and literature.[10] Therefore it may be assumed that in these passages the chronicle has preserved certain vague memories about the establishment and development of Aryan Brahmin settlements in ancient Kerala.[11] Incidentally this institution of the cattar throws valuable light on the process of the growth and spread of Aryan Brahmin settlements in Kerala during the Cera period, especially the little-known military aspects of the phenomenon.

However, no detailed account of the *salai* organisation of the cattar was available till recently except from the Parthivapuram inscription of Ay king Karunandatakkan in South Kerala.[11] According to this the king made an endowment for 95 cattar at this place. He set apart land the revenue from which, known as *salabhoga* was meant for their maintenance. Out of the 95 seats for the cattar, called perumakkal or greatmen, 46 kalams or seats were kept for Pakaliyacaranam, 36 for Taithariya caranam and 14 for Talavakaracaranam, and the seats to be endowed in future were to be divided equally between these three sections. For admission to the *salai*, five cattar had to certify that a person is competent as a Vaiyakarana, Mimamsaka and Purohita and that he had 'othu' or vedic training to equip him for *traivajyavyavahara* or practice in the three kingdoms, probably the three kingdoms of Cera Cola, and Pandya. The routine for vedic recitation is also stated. Certain rules of discipline are given from which we know that the cattar possessed proficiency in arms though they were prohibited to

bring arms into the gatherings. They were also prohibited from quarrelling within temple precincts, injuring one another or the tenants of the *salabhogam* and *devadanam* lands, playing dice within the temple and keeping concubines in their madha or residence. In case the tenants defaulted in their payments to the *salai*, the cattar were authorised to restrain their property and cultivation. From these regulations we may gather that the cattar were Vedic scholars whose main duty was to recite vedas and that they were compelled to observe brahmacarya and that they had military weapons and training. They also acted as a volunteer force in defending the property and revenue of the temple and the *salai*. It is also clear that they functioned under the sabha or Brahmin assembly of the village. This arms-bearing community of dedicated vedic scholars reminds one of the military monks of medieval Europe. They must have constituted a formidable force for anything, for war as well as peace. It is only natural that they owed allegiance to the the royal patron who endowed their institution on such a munificent scale and offerred to fight for him during periods of invasion.

Some more details about this wonderful para-military organisation of the cattar is now available from the Jain Prakrit work of the 8th century called *Kuvalayumala* by Udyotanasuri from Jalor in Rajasthan. According to this work, Kuvalayacandra, the hero of the story, during his wanderings in search of his paramour, reaches the big city of Vijayanagari situated in the Southern coast of India, probably in Kerala. He enters a big madha or monastery of the cattar. There he finds cattar who were natives of various countries. In one place they were engaged in practising archery, fighting with sword and shield, with daggers. etc. He found others learning painting, singing, practising on musical instruments or staging plays or dancing. There were other groups inside the building engaged in discourses or teaching of different sciences like *vyakarana, buddhadarsana, mimamsa, naiyayika darsana, anekantvada* or *lokayatika*. Some groups were practising arts and sciences like *nimitha, mantra, yoga, anjana, kuhaka, dhatuvada, jakhini siddhi, ghatta, jogamala, mantramala, garuda, jyotisha, svapna sastra, rasayana sastra, chandah vritti, nirukta, patrachedya, indrajala, lepya-karma, kanaya karma, visagara tantra, valaya, bhuta-tantrakarma*, etc. In one place they were reciting the vedas without caring for the meaning. These people are put to ridicule by the Jain writer while he is full of praise for the institution as a whole. They are described as young men of gluttonous habits, with undressed hair, and big moustaches,

big fleshy bodies and high shoulders walking with a jerkey gait, indifferent to *dharma, artha,* and *kama*. It is stated that they had put on a good deal of flesh, obtaining free food of others, that they are devoid of relations, friends and property and that they loved to gaze at young girls and others' wives, with the conceit that they themselves were beautiful. Certainly there is an element of caricature in this passage but on the whole the description of the madha of the cattar appears to be realistic and genuine. Therefore this work throws interesting new light on the particular type of madhas or monasteries in the South where the cattar lived and the type of comprehensive training which they received. If such institutions were flourishing in the West and South even during the 8th century, they must certainly have played a very significant role in the Aryan colonisation in different parts of India. Perhaps they had come into existence for the specific purpose of spreading the Vedic Aryan culture with a missionary sense. The Parthivapuram inscription cited earlier clearly proves their extension to the southernmost limit of the peninsula on the western side.

The inclusion of Buddha-darsana in the curriculum of the cattar gains added importance in view of the fact that the anti-Buddhist propaganda and reorganisation of Hinduism reached its climax during this period in the career of Sankara. The dedicated vedic scholars must have mastered the Buddhist and other forms of thought in order to succeed in refuting their arguments and countering their intellectual influence. Perhaps the great Sankara from Kerala was himself a product of such madhas and the madhas he established in different parts of India bore the stamp of his culture. In fact these madhas must have acted also as the nuclei for the regeneration of Hinduism. While we have much information on the Buddhist University centres of India like Nalanda and Takshasila we know surprisingly little about the Hindu institutions of learning in the ancient period. In this context, the information about the salais and the madhas open a new vista for exploration. The madha which is described in the *Kuvalayamala* indeed had the proportions of a great Hindu University centered around a vedic institute. Whether this particular madha at Vijayapuri was real or imaginary, the epigraphic and literary evidence of the salais of cattar from Kerala proves the importance of this institution. It necessitates the examination of the role of such centres in founding, promoting and defending Aryan Brahmin settlements in these parts of India.

It is well known that the Aryan Brahmin settlements of the so-called Bhargava or Parasurama brahmins of Kerala formed part of a chain of

settlements on the West Coast of India, running from Bhrigu-kaccha in Gujerat to Kanyakumari in Kerala. This may be the reason why the organisation of the cattar appears to be more prominent in Kerala than in other parts of Dravidian India[12a] However, though the *salais* as such do not appear frequently in the records from the rest of South India, the present writer finds reason to assume that they flourished in the Pallava and Calukya territories also.

This inference is based on the possibility of equating the *salais* of the records mentioned earlier with the institution of *ghatika* or *kataka* mentioned in several other inscriptions. Kielhorn has described the *ghatika* as an establishment consisting of a group of holy and learned brahmins, probably in each case founded by a king though his identification of the *ghatika* with *goshthi* is unwarranted. The following reasons prompt the present writer to identify the *ghatika* and the *salai*.

1. The term *kalakam* is used in the *Keralolpathi* for the organisation of the brahmins ordained by Parasurama to rule and defend the country. This term *kalakam* is evidently the colloquial form of *ghatika* or *ghataka*, both these forms being used in the inscriptions.

2. The Tamil equivalent for the Sanskrit word *ghatam* is *kalam*. While Tamil inscriptions refer to the institution of '*kalam*' for cathirar, the Sanskrit inscriptions refer to the institution of *ghata*. It is therefore likely that the term *ghatika* is derived from *ghata*, as denoting the place where *ghatas* are instituted. The reference to several places as *ghatikasthanas* in inscriptions would suggest that there were many of these centres.

3. The inscriptional references to *kalam-aruppu* are found, besides Kandalur, at Talaikulam and Karaikandisvaram. The later place is located in the village of Kadigaippattanam, evidently because the *ghatika* was located there.

4. The term *trairajyaghatikamadhyastha* evidently having some connection with the *ghatika* is found in several inscriptions. At the same time the Parthivapuram inscription says that ability to conduct "*trairajya Vyavahara* is a condition for admission to the *salai*".

The Talagunda inscription provides interesting sidelight on the *ghatika* of Kanci. It is stated that the *dvijottama* (excellent Brahmin) called Mayurasarman, well decorated with *sruti*, *sila*, *souca* etc. entered the *ghatika* of Kanci with his preceptor Virasarma, in order to become proficient in *pravacana*, *i.e.*, to acquire more knowledge. There Mayurasarman had occassion to come into conflict with the Pallava cavalry

force—an indication of the fact that the *ghatika* was not confined to scholarly activities but had something to do with military weapons too. Even though he followed the *sakha* (of the veda) with perfect devotion to *gurukula*, he realised that in this kaliyuga *brahmasiddhi* or the achievement of the Brahmin, is *nrpadhina i.e.* dependent on kings. As we know the military aspect of the *ghatika* or *sala* and its dependence on the bounty of kings who instituted the *kalams* there, it is easier now to realise to full implications of such a statement which puzzled earlier scholars like Mr. Rice and Dr. Kielhorn. Following the humiliation, Mayurasarman employed the hand accustomed to handle kusa grass, fuel, stone, ladle, ghee and oblations of grain to wield the flashing weapons. He immediately succeeded in overcoming the Pallava frontier guards and establishing a stronghold in the forest in the middle of Sriparvata. His capacity to take to fighting immediately and his instant victory also point to the fact that Mayurasarman's early training was not confined to the vedas and sastras of a spiritual character but that he had already some grounding in military science.

The *ghatika* of Kanci, which Mayurasarman (who is known later as Mayuravarman) entered, figures in some other inscriptions also. It is stated in the Kasakudi plates of Mahendravarman that from his time prospered meritorious acts for the benefit of temples and brahmanas and the ghatika. The Pallava king Narasimhavarman II Rajasimha (700—728 A.D.) says in his Valurpalayam grant that he reorganised the ghatik a of brahmins and built the Kailasanatha temple. Further, it is stated in the same grant that "this crestjewel of the kstatriyas whose wealth was at the disposal of temples and brahmins improved, with devotion to brahmins, the prosperity of his own *ghatika* where the four vedas were taught".

The Vaikuntha Perumal temple inscription informs us that members of this ghatika played a part along with the Mahattaras and Mulaprakrti in the selection of the young prince Mahendravarman Pallava Malla to the Pallava throne. In the light of this statement the *Keralolpatthi* claim that Ceraman Perumal or the Cera king was chosen by the brahmins of the four *kalakams* (*ghatikas*) will not appear as fantastic as before.

The Kanci inscription of Vikramaditya II Calukya who made war with the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla and occuppied Kanci says that the invader restored the wealth of Rajasimhesvaragra. It reads: "Those who destroy these letters and the stability of the king's charity which was thus given shall enter the world of those who had killed the group of

great men of the *ghatika*." Probably the Calukya enemy first seized the *ghatika* and then restored it as a mark of his grace. It is interesting to note that the members of the *ghatika* are referred to as 'Mahajana'. It reminds one of the fact that the members of the Parthivapuram-salai are called 'cattapperumakkal' where the word 'perumakkal' is the Tamil equivalent of the Sanskrit word 'mahajana'.

Besides the *ghatika* of Kanci, several other *ghatikas* are mentioned in inscriptions. They are associated with temples and Vedic studies and offence against members was considered to be great sin.

It is true at the same time that kings considered the seizure of the enemy's *ghatika* as an act of military distinction. Thus the Velurpalayam grant says that an early Pallava king Skandasishya, grandson of Virakurca, seized the *ghatika* of brahmans from the Calukya king Satyasraya. This fact reminds one of the seizure of Kandalur-salai by the Cola kings in the course of their wars against the Cera.

To sum up the results of this enquiry, we have seen that *salais* or *ghatikas* were institutions mostly attached to temples where the cattars or chathirars, proficient in Vedas and sastras and also military activities, lived under the patronage of kings who considered their establishment and maintenance a great privilege. Apart from the *salais* at Kandalur and Parthivapuram and the *ghatika* of Kanci which have become famous in epigraphy there were numerous other institutions of this type of which a detailed account is preserved in the *Kuvalayamala* and references are found in several inscriptions. The members of these institutions played an important part in upholding the rights of the brahman sabhas and the power of their royal patrons, and sometimes indulged in politics too *i.e.*, the choice of kings in the case of the Pallavas and Ceras and the foundation of a new kingdom at least in one instance namely the Kadamba kingdom of Banavasi in Mysore. The last mentioned example serves to clarify the connection between the Kadamba king Mayurasarman turned into Mayuravarman and the foundation of new brahmin settlements in Karnataka and Kerala celebrated in the *Gramapaddhati* and *Keralolpathi* chronicles. It is also learnt that kings like the Pallava king Skandasishya and the Cola king Rajaraja considered it a matter of pride to be able to capture the *ghatika* or *salai* of enemy kings who naturally defended it with all their might while the cathirar themselves were fighting in self-defence. These pieces of information, when put together help us to understand the very significant role played by the community of arms-bearing brahmin scholars in the

spread of Vedic Aryan colonies and culture in South India. Incidentally this new knowledge about the educational, economic and military aspects of Aryanisation clarifies the mystery which has long surrounded the penetration of Aryan influence into non-Aryan territories. If one may be permitted to hazard a guess, this *salai* or *ghatika* organisation of dedicated men with a missionary zeal which does not figure in early Hindu literature and which emerges in South Indian records from the 4th—5th centuries of the Christian era must have been a characteristic contribution of the Brahminical Hindu renaissance of the Gupta age. Further search in the records of Aryavarta may probably throw light on its origins and course of evolution too. However, at this end, in Kerala, the story of its later decadence and disintegration is preserved in fragmentary form in late medieval manipravala literature.

REFERENCES

1. *South Indian Inscriptions.* I. No. 146.
2. *Ibid.* II. P. 241.
3. *Travancore Archaeological Series.* II. PP. 1-6.

In support of this view he pointed out the fact that Rajaraja changed the name of Srivallabhapperumsalai into Rajarajapperumsalai. See *T.A.S.* I. pp. 163-4.

There is a dispute about the location of Kandalur-Salai too. Gopinatha Rao suggested that since the deity in Valiya-salai temple in Trivandrum is known as 'Kaudalur salai Mahadevi' this may be identified as the *Kandalur* of inscriptions. However there is a village called Kandalur near Vilinnam, the chief city of the Ay King who declared that Kandalur salai was the model of the Parthivapuram salai. Moreover, Trivandrum or Tiruvanadapuram was famous by that very name during this period also. Therefore it is possible that the original Kandalur-salai was near the old Ay capital and that when it was attacked by the Colas in the 10th century, the deity was shifted to a place of safety within the Cera dominion.

4. *Kerala Society Papers.* Series. 2. PP. 100 ff.
5. *The Colas.* PP. 180-90. F.N.7.
6. *Keralacaritrathinre Iruladanha Edukal* (IInd Edn) P. 53.

Prof. Elamkulam, Professor of Malayalam (Rtd.). University College, Trivandrum has done yeoman service to Kerala history by reconstructing many aspects of ancient and medaeival history on the basis of epigraphy and literature.

7. *Unnichirutevi Unniyachi, Unniyati,* and *Candrotsavam.*

In *Unnichirutevi* (13th century) a *manipravala kavya* about a courtesan in Valluvanadu, Indra is described as visiting her palace. He finds some cathirar calling each other shouting that the frightened enemy has run away. He finds other cathirar engaged in pleasing the damsel by composing verses in praise of her beauty.

In *Unniyachi* (13th century) another *manipravala kavya* about a courtesan of Purakilanadu, a cattan, who is also called a cathiran, takes a gandharva to the heroine's residence. There they see a large group of men including cathirar waiting upon the courtesan. The cathirar are said to carry eye black, eye brow pencil charms, palm-leaf and stylus, sanskrit-Tamil books, swords, daggers, and other instruments and blood stained weapons evidently to impress the heroine with their liberality, scholarship and prowess in warfare.

In *Unniyati* (14th century) another *manipravala kavya* celebrating the beauty of a princess, the poet incidentally introduces the conversation of some cathirar. One claims that the cathirar on his side succeeded in injuring with sword eight persons on the opposite side. These people are said to wear a cloth which goes down to the feet like the soldiers and to create havoc with the swords in their hand.

In *Candrotsavam* (15th century) another *manipravala kavya* in the form of a social satire, the cathirar of the 18 sanghas are described as shining with their weapons, driving out the opposing groups and wielding swords, daggers and spears, and participating enthusiastically in the imaginary *candrotsava* or moon festival, attended by all the courtesans and their patrons and admirers from all parts of Kerala.

8. See Note 7. *Candrotsavam.*

9. Gundert's *Malayalam dictionary* refers to the cathirar as 'a peculiar section of armed brahmins' and to cathirakkali or Yatrakali as it is called sometimes as 'a peculiar performance of the brahmans'. Dr. L.A. Ravivarma points out that some of the terms applied to cathirakkali also known as yatrakali, sanghakali, panayum kaliyum, sastra kali, sastrankam, kshatrankam etc., "definitely point to a military tradition" *Ramavarma Research Institute Bulletin*, XI.I. pp. 13-32.

9. M.G.S. Narayanan, *The Growth of Aryan Influence in Ancient Kerala*", History on the (Kerala) History convention papers) 1965, pp 55-63.

10. The *Keralolpathi* states that Parasurama gave the land to brahmins to be enjoyed as 'Brahmakshatra' *i.e.* as the land where brahmins take the role of Kshatriyas also (P.5). The Chronicle adds that 36000 brahmins belonging to different settlement or B grams accepted the right to bear arms from Parasurama (pp. 6,7 11-15) They are described as half-brahmins or ardhabrahmans and armed chiefs or valnampis and their functions are described as the restraint (of offenders) warfare, and guard, (padu) *nadakkayam pada kudukuam akampadi nadakkukayum*, p. 14). They are said to be divided into four *kalakams* called Perincellur, Payyanur, Parappur and and Chengannur respectively after (p.15) these elected four protectors or *rakshapurushas* for the duration of three years with the right to collect one-sixth or *shadbhaga* as revenue (p·15). Since the protectors became corrupt in course of time, the Brahmins of Kerala joined together and started inviting Kshtriyas from outside to rule over the country for twelve year periods until one of them, the Geraman Perumal was requested to stay indefinitely (pp.16-61). At a later stage in the period after Kulasekhara, the Brahmins felt the need to defend the land and twelve gramas volunteered to take arms for the purpose (pp. 394-0). However only 10 gramas

finally fulfilled the contract and actually took arms and they came to be called Cathirar (p. 40). The 64 gramas entered into a contract granting all the privileges of brahmins to those among them who bore arms, as they did so to protect *dharma* through *karma* (pp. 40-41) They were bound to enjoy the fruits of the *yagas* performed by others also (p. 41). When they failed in their mission they were ordained to die intelligently (p. 41). The *Keralolpathi* also provides an elaborate account of Kanamirikkal (meeting of the gana pp. 44-7) which included ritualistic worship and military practice.

11. *T.A.S.* I. I. pp. 1-14, Elamkulam, Edukal (IInd Edn) p. 53. Elamkulam, Prasnangal, (IInd Edn), Vol. II, Elamkulam, Pascathalathi, PP. 92-113.

12. Umakant P. Shah. "Cattanam-Madham'.—A gleaning from the Kivalayamala Kaha" and A.N. Upadhye, "The Kuvalayamal Katha of Ratnaprabhasuri", *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Golden Jubilee Volume, Poona 1968. PP. 63-70 and 247-52.

12(*a*) Besides Kandalor and Parthuapuram salais in Mulikkalan and Firwalla in Kerala, Kanyakumari in Pandyan country and Ennadyiram.

13. Talagunda Pillar Inscription of Kadamba king Kakustha varman, Sikarpur tq, Shimoga dt. Mysore, *E.I.* VIII, P. 24; *E.C.* VII. P. 200; *I.A.* XXV. P. 27.

Kasakudiplates, S.I.I. II. III. P. 349. L. 59.

Velurpalayam grant, S.I.I. II. V. P. 508. LI. 11. 12. 20.

Chikkulla plates of Vikramandravarman II of Vishnukundin dynasty *E.I.* IV. P. 196.

Vaikuntaperumal Inscription of Nandivarman Pallava Malla, S.I.I. IV P. 16. Section A.L.I.

Kanci Inscription of Vikramaditya II Calukya *E.I.* III. P. 360 L9

14. *E.I.* VIII. P. 26 F.N.I.

15. *Datva parthivapurvasakharapure devaya deepadvayam.*
Pratyashadha punarvasum punaraded Vrihim ghatam dvadasa.
Chatrebhyah Punar thamagramadada nnaraynahsrnginah.
Hrityai sadguna bhushanah savibhavam brahmadhirajah sudhih.
Elamkulam. Janmisampradayam, p. 18.

16. See Note 3 above

17. *B.I.* VII. P. 24; *E.C.* EII.P. 200; *I.V.* XXV. P. 27.

18. S.I.I. V. III. PP. 349-56. "*yosmad prabhrtyalam avardhata dharma karma devadvijamavishayam ghatika ca datu*".

19. *S.I.I.* II. V. P. 508. LI. 11, 12, 20. *Tatputra sunur narasimha varma penarvyadhadyoghatikam dvijanam, Silamayam vesma sasanka mouleh kailasakalpam ca mahendrakalpah*".

20. *Ibid.* L. 59. *Devabhrahmana satksatamavibhavo yah kshatracudamanih caturvedyamavivrdhat sva ghatikam bhudevatabhaktitah*".

21. *S.I.I.* IV, P. 10, Section A, L. I.,

Ibid. Section. L. L. 1.

22. *E.I.* III. P. 360. L. 9. A similar clause of indictment is found in a Tamil inscription of the 52nd year of Pallavamalla from Tiruvellarai, North Arcot, also. See *S.I.I.* III. I. P. 91 "*Itu alittan katikai elayiravaraiyum konra pavathu paduvan*".

23. *E.C.* XII. P. 158 ; *S.S.I.* II. III. P. 349 ; *E.C.* V. No. 178. P. 462.

24. *S.I.I.* II. V. 505. LI. 12-13.

Skandasishyastate bhavaddvijanam ghatikam rajnah satyasenajjaharayah". See also, Dr. S.K. Aiyangar, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture.* P. 165. Venkateswara, *Indian Culture Through The Ages.* Vol. I. P. 243 ; Father Heras, *Studies in Pallava History*, P. 9.